

Information Digest



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Honorary Presidents: MISS MARY ATTLEE, THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL JOHN
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THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT



1. SEPTEMBER COMMENT

In Africa at the present time there can be observed two important developments. First there is a growing awareness of their position by the non-European communities in East, Central and South Africa, and a growing resistance to existing or increasing white domination. Correspondingly there is a strengthening of the positive demands by non-Europeans for increasing responsibilities in their own countries. Secondly, there are signs that the non-white communities see their future advancement in the direction of racial co-operation rather than inter-racial conflict. Many of the political issues in Africa at present are seen to offer liberal-minded people of all races an opportunity to unite in a common programme of economic, social and political development.

This feeling has recently found expression in the formation of inter-racial action groups in Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya. The movement towards unity in pursuit of a common programme for the progress of people of all races is all the more significant in face of recent happenings in South Africa, where the policy of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government has provoked a growing resistance movement on the part of the African, Coloured and Indian communities against the whole state system of racial discrimination.

The question of the future of the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland is one that is likely to bring the British Government and people more closely to grips with the conflict of principles between the Nationalism of Dr. Malan and the ideas of a multi-racial Commonwealth. The British Government has always maintained that it will not surrender the Protectorates without consultation with the inhabitants. The Government's sincerity in the matter of safe-guarding African rights may be assessed by its policy in Central Africa, and also by its attitude towards the question of South Africa and the South West African mandate. Several Nationalist newspapers in the Union have already claimed that if the wishes of Africans can be ignored by the British Government in Central Africa, they could also be ignored in the Protectorates.

At the forthcoming session of the United Nations several African questions will be discussed. In addition to the Trusteeship territories, resolutions affecting Tunisia, South Africa and South West Africa, have been placed on the Agenda. The Arab-Asian bloc is to take joint action on Tunisia and on the racial policies of South Africa's Nationalist Government. All Africa will be watching to see how effectually these issues can be dealt with by the United Nations. They will also carefully watch to see what the attitude of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth delegations will be.

In Central Africa the conference on the proposed Federation scheme has been postponed till next January. There is a conspicuous absence of African support for the scheme despite the explanations and expressions of opinion of interested parties. The opposition of Africans and Indians to a proposal for a greater federation of Central and East Africa is expressed in the formation of African and Asian groups in East Africa, committed to fighting both Central African and East African federation.

The return of Tshekedi Khama to his own country comes as the result of a long, patient and persistent struggle and is of some credit both to him and to the Department of Commonwealth Relations. Although he is excluded from politics and his nephew is still banished, at least the Government has recognised that two wrongs do not make a right, and it is a cause for thankfulness that one of these at least has been partially remedied. There are many economic possibilities in Bechuanaland and Tshekedi's leadership should be invaluable in the development of his country. Political and economic reforms should provide greater security from the threat of incorporation in the Union which has hung over it during all this period of controversy. The fight for the preservation of the Protectorates has not yet been won. It is likely to be part of the whole pattern of the struggle in South and Central Africa.

Michael Scott.

2. CENTRAL AFRICA

The controversy about Central African federation continues to evoke strong passions throughout the three territories. So far no prominent African leader has come forward in support of the federal proposals. The Northern Rhodesian African Congress met at Lusaka during the month and what was chiefly remarkable was the fact that for the first time many of the most important chiefs were present. This close alliance between the African nationalist leaders and the traditional leaders is one of the striking points of the opposition campaign in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Commenting on this LORD NOEL-BUXTON, who recently visited Central Africa, wrote in the Observer (pt. 14, 1952) "It is quite clear to an observer that this opposition to the federal proposals does not emanate merely from an unbalanced clique of urban leaders, but is even more uncompromising in the rural areas. It is the chiefs who are becoming the main pivot of this stand, and are the source of the main emotive lead."

Views of the Asian People of Central Africa

At Limbe, Nyasaland, on 26-28 July, the ASIANS of CENTRAL AFRICA assembled for the first time on a common platform. The Tribune of Nairobi (Aug. 9, 1952) reported their statement of policy: "Our ultimate ideal is, and must be, the creation of a multi-racial society". They pointed out that a federation could only succeed if "the federating units first recognise, accept, guarantee in law and respect in fact the innate rights of men, families and minority groups in their civil, religious, political and economic life.... If a country, or any powerful section of its subjects, refused to accord to its own people the full enjoyment of innate human rights, it cannot be relied upon to co-operate in a federal community for the maintenance of racial harmony and equality and for the recognition of minority rights... The principle of partnership... can be of no effect whatsoever, unless first the racist tendencies are strictly checked and outlawed both in public and private life and, secondly, equal recognition is accorded not only to the Africans but also the Asians and Coloureds."

African Views

Amongst the views expressed to Mr. H.L. HOPKINSON Minister of State for Colonies, by African representatives were the following:

At Mzimba, Nyasaland, on 13 August, four Chiefs, an African minister and three others, said that "unequal racial representations clearly show that the whites in the Federal Assembly time and again would carry the day, until at least a demand for dominion status would be asked and granted, the result of which would be withdrawal of the Whitehall rule, and Africans like those in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia would groan under oppressive rules against which Her Majesty's veto is not enacted". They point out how partnership is not practised in daily life between Europeans and Africans.... Though Africans, we are human beings also, with liberty and rights: we can say 'yes' when convinced, and 'no' if unconvinced; the British Government is Christian: a nation to which the world looks for peace and justice; a nation that hates dictatorship against which all peace-loving countries fought from 1939-45; if force is used, Britain would lose her good reputation among other nations. Hence our faith in God that Britain in this difficult situation may be led to find a more peaceful way in dealing with our African affairs..."

The NYASALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS (Aug. 16, 1952) pointed out that the delegates from the Protectorate Council who visited London for talks with the Secretary of State in April had not been given an opportunity by the Nyasaland Government of reporting back to the Council. "It is precisely for that reason that the Africans are coming to see that though the Protectorate Council is the official organ for the expression of African public opinion, we fear that the Government is interested in this Council to express Government opinion, and not African opinion which may be contrary to Government opinion." They ask "Why is it that the African unanimous opposition to federation is being brushed aside? It is not true and is misleading to say that African opinion does not exist. All human beings have some opinion on any subject. The truth is that the opinion that exists has rejected federation in toto." (They have since reported to the Council but no discussion was allowed for.)

With regard to allegations of intimidation they said: "It is also said that the Governor of Nyasaland has told the Colonial Secretary in Britain that there is intimidation of African supporters of federation. This Congress has never at any time threatened anyone, nor do we know of any such threat by the Protectorate Council. We challenge the Governor and wish him to bring us evidence to the public... The Governor being responsible for peace and order in this country, why has he failed to bring this case before a court of law?" The following points against federation were made:

- (a) We are a protectorate, and our protectorate status would be affected by the change - the division of functions is not clear-cut e.g. immigration and land policy, to mention only one example, cannot be separated.
- (b) At present we are not adequately represented; federation would give a blessing to this ill-arranged situation and there is no provision anywhere for its amelioration in the event of federation...
- (c) Native policy of Southern Rhodesia is a bad one. Federation proposals have not condemned this, rather they have said, 'All right, carry on.'
- (d) We urge that before we can go any further in these talks, political and economic reforms must be introduced without delay.. We demand that:-
 - (1) African members of the Legislative Council be increased to 12 (out of a population of over 2½ million Africans and 4,000 Europeans, only 2 members of Legislative Council are Africans while 15 are Europeans including the Governor).
 - (2) more facilities for education be introduced and the age limits waived;
 - (3) Africans be appointed to commissioned posts in the Civil Service;
 - (4) All forms of colour bar and other discriminatory practices based on colour be put to an end. We object to economic advantages of federation because it is clear that there shall be, as there is now, economic colour bar in the federation...
 - (5) We object to the safeguards provided in the White Paper because they are not safe at all."

Congress resolved: "That after the African people have made repeated efforts to oppose the scheme which aims at bringing oppression into our Motherland, it was now time that Congress appoints a day of National Prayers to Almighty God who may help Africans in this struggle as He did listen to the Free Nations in the last World War in which the African people of Nyasaland took part both in fighting and Prayers. Therefore Sunday 21st September 1952 (for Christians) and Friday 19th (for Mohammedans) shall be the days of Nyasaland African National Prayers..." They also resolved to establish their own newspaper to be called Kwaca.

CHIEF MSAMALA, writing to the Africa Bureau from Nyasaland, says that he and his people have all been given the White Paper to read but they are as much against federation as before. The Nyasaland African Congress sent a telegram welcoming Mr. Attlee to Central Africa and saying: "Nyasaland Africans do understand federation ideals but will oppose federation with Southern Rhodesia at all costs. We have no faith in paper assurances nor safeguards. We denounce propaganda of intimidation in Nyasaland. We reassert our rights/determine form of government. We regret your failure to visit Nyasaland, nevertheless we wish you and Mrs. Attlee an enjoyable visit and God may bless and protect your flight back to London. God bless the Queen" (Kwaca, Aug.27, 1952)

The Central African Post (Aug.14, 1952) said "One of the prime reasons why Mr. Welensky has invited Mr. Attlee to the Territory is to make it clear to everyone that in fact, the British Socialist Party is in favour of Federation, and that it is only on certain details of the plan that they differ from the Government." Mr. ATTLEE, on his return to Britain concluded an article: "We are confronted with a dilemma. It is dangerous to carry through federation against the weight of African opinion. On the other hand, the results of abandoning it may be serious and may injuriously affect racial relations. It is the duty of us all, Europeans and Africans, to try to weigh up all the factors in the situation without prejudice and with as full a knowledge as we can obtain." (Daily Herald, Sept. 8, 1952.)

African Affairs Board - Pointing out that many Southern Rhodesians are straining at "a petty-fogging gnat of an African Affairs Board which could not possibly be a thorn in the side of a Federal Government", the Central African Post in editorial comment (July 17, 1952) said "It is very likely that in the course of time, the African Affairs Board will have so little to do that it will become extinct... The proof of its value should be in its working. If it can be shown after some time that it is a nuisance to Government then it can be abolished."

Comment from Northern Rhodesia - An Africa Bureau correspondent writing from the Copper Belt draws attention to the fact that Mr. ROY WELENSKY, in the debate in the Legislative Council on the subject of federation said that if the safeguards in the constitution were put into force while he was Federal Prime Minister he would resign and go to the country and see whether the Secretary of State was willing to face that position. (Hansard Special Edition Page 10.) The same correspondent, in describing some of the reactions to the Minister of State's visit, says that at Kitwe the Africans tried hard to get Mr. Hopkinson to see a crowd that had gathered on a football ground to wait for him, because he had expressed elsewhere a disbelief that the masses of Africans felt strongly on the question of federation. Mr. Hopkinson refused to see them and talked only to delegates. At Mufulira for the same reason a procession with banners had been organised but they were turned back by the District Officer. Nor were the African Representative Council able to see Mr. Hopkinson. They are known to be against federation and it was apparently thought unnecessary therefore for them to be called up.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions - in their Information Bulletin No. 56 (July 30, 1952) reported that "The Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U., having noted the Proposals made public following the conference held in London in April and May 1952 on the question of Central African Federation, reiterates its demand that no action be taken by the British Government to implement these proposals without the consent of representative African opinion in the three territories... Since the African population in the territories is not free to decide the issue through normal democratic processes, it is our considered opinion that any imposition on the part of the British Government would constitute a breach of faith with the indigenous population..."

Letters to the London Times

The correspondence on Federation has continued in the Times. On 23 July a letter from Miss MARGERY PERHAM suggested that "the wise alternative (to federation) if African agreement cannot be won, would be to set up for a defined period of years a form of closer association drawn up with past central African and present east African experience in mind. During this time the confidence of Africans might be gained; their education, both in politics (which has hardly begun) and through large and vigorous measures of higher school and technical education, could be advanced. Most important of all, measures should be taken not to devise future safeguards against possible discriminations but, as the best earnest of good faith, to mitigate at once the actual colour-bar devices which bar their advance and explain so much of their fear and resentment."

LORD WINSTER (Aug. 14, 1952) wrote "The Minister of State for Colonial Affairs is reported from Bulawayo as saying that 90 per cent of the population 'know nothing about federation at all'. Surely there could not be a stronger argument for not imposing federation. He added, 'the real merits of the scheme (have been) obscured by issues unconnected with it, such as the colour bar, industry, fears for the land, and doubt about immigration'. I really cannot accept that these are unconnected issues. If they are, why does Mr. Hopkinson describe an African Affairs board to watch legislation on behalf of African interests as an essential part of the federal scheme? Does Mr. Lyttelton endorse these curious arguments?"

Also referring to this latter argument, the Rt. Hon. JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P., wrote (Aug. 16, 1952): "In the debate on Central African federation in the Commons on July 24 I ventured to warn the Minister, on the eve of his departure, that, to quote the words I then used: 'I believe he will find this

"difficulty - the difficulty of getting the Africans to discuss this (scheme) because of other things that are in the background... I went on to suggest to the Minister that during his stay in Central Africa he should seek to recover the chance that was missed after the Victoria Falls Conference last year to discuss these 'other things'... Mr. Hopkinson may believe that these other issues are 'unconnected with Federation'. In saying this he completely ignores the fact that the offer of the Africans at the conference to consider Federation at all was contingent upon prior consideration, and settlement, of the policy of partnership, and that the conference was unanimous in its declaration 'that economic and political partnership is the only policy under which Federation could be brought about in the conditions of Central Africa.' MR. GRIFFITHS' suggestions for an agenda for such discussion were "(1) To consider a programme for ensuring the advancement of African miners, on the copper belt, in accordance with their skill and experience, (2) to consider the problem of the colour bar and, in particular, the desirability of the Governments in the two northern territories giving a lead by removing some of the practices of racial discrimination in Government establishments, (3) to consider proposals for the introduction of African representation into the local councils in towns and urban areas, (4) to consider the next steps in the further political advancement of Africans in the territorial governments and legislatures..." He said further "I expressed the view that it would be the wiser course to postpone further discussions on Federation until these discussions on partnership had taken place... Is it not better to adopt that course now than to go on until the Houses of Parliament, and the Central African peoples, are confronted with the stark and ugly, alternatives of either imposing Federation upon an unwilling people or of abandoning all hope of Federation?"

PROFESSOR W.M. MACMILLAN, returning from 6 weeks in Central Africa (Aug. 21, 1952) wrote "In Central Africa the issue at the moment is not race relations as such, but this slowly matured plan for strengthening three unduly isolated units by bringing them into closer association for certain specific and limited purposes.... This federal experiment is something specifically new and stands to be considered on its own merits, and if need be improved... At a score of meetings in a score of different places the African leaders I put it to could offer no alternative way of attaining the specific aims of federation..."

On Aug. 22, 1952, MR. YURKA GALITZINE, Chairman of the London Committee of the United Central Africa Association, wrote - "Mr. Griffiths is quite correct in stating that the attitude of the white African miners towards their black colleagues is unreasonable, but he surely cannot have overlooked that his own fellow-miners in this country have taken a similar attitude to the use of Italians in British pits."

ADDRESS BY H.E. THE GOVERNOR TO THE NYASALAND AFRICAN PROTECTORATE COUNCIL

In the course of his address on Aug 28, 1952 the Governor said that "after very careful study of future financial prospects I can see very little hope of all these desirable development projects (schools, dispensaries, better roads, new bridges and so forth) being provided if Nyasaland continues to stand alone: in fact I must warn you that in my opinion the immediate prospects for development are not good and it may even be necessary to reduce Government expenditure on some very important activities which affect your lives."

Statement by the Nyasaland Christian Council

The statement says that whereas Africans were given the impression in 1951 of a free choice on the questions of closer association, their confidence was undermined when the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs disregarded their overwhelming opposition and said the decision was entirely the responsibility of the British Government..... The most important factor in the future of these territories will be human relationships. These already show signs of deterioration as a result of the federation proposals, and to ignore African opposition would be to exacerbate racial tension. The council therefore suggests: informal discussion of the problems of a multi-racial society in inter-racial groups within all sections of the communities in these territories..." (Manchester Guardian, Sep. 11, 1952.)

3. EAST AFRICA

Kenya

In Kenya, an ANTI-FEDERATION LEAGUE has been formed, under the Chairmanship of Mr. B.M. KAGGIA, Editor of Inoro Kia Gikuyu and Secretary of the Kenya African Union. The Chairman said "In East Africa... there is growing anxiety, European leaders, particularly in Kenya, have been urging the necessity of establishing an East African Federation on similar lines, or alternatively of merging East Africa in the Central African Federation.. This body will use every possible constitutional means to impress on the Governments in Africa and London the resolute opposition of the vast majority of Her Majesty's African subjects to Central African Federation as at present proposed.."(Tribune, 9.8.52)

Mr. F.W. MATHU, leader of the African Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council of Kenya, urged the British Government to postpone their proposals for Central African Federation. He said "the timing is immature and inopportune. In another 20 years, maybe, but not now... Central African federation is not partnership but domination... domination is the intention of Europeans in Central Africa.... (The Europeans) know that Africa is rising and they want to be quick. They have been chased out of Asia, the Near East, Egypt, and other places, and they say their future is in Africa. I have no objection to their being here but they have approached the matter from the wrong end... I want a scheme that will satisfy all races because we are all here to stay. I am not suggesting that the Europeans or Asians should go." (The Times, Aug 12, 1952)

Tanganyika

The ASSOCIATION OF TANGANYIKANS has been formed in Dar Es Salaam by prominent leaders of the European, African and Asian communities. Its aim is to bring together those people of Tanganyika, of any race, colour or creed, who subscribe to the following articles of belief:-

- (a) That neither the soil of Tanganyika nor its amenities and privileges are exclusively those of any one racial group but are common to Africans, Europeans and Asians who live in Tanganyika and have their roots there.
- (b) The only plan for sound and timely progress - moral, social, economic and political - in Tanganyika, without undue disturbances of people now in varying stages of development, lies wholly within the principle of racial partnership.
- (c) The plan for progress must be based on the ideals of Western civilisation, together with the retention of Tanganyika's place within the Commonwealth of Nations and on its unswerving allegiance to the British Crown."

Conference of Ismailis in Africa

At a meeting in July at Evian, the AGA KHAN'S followers in Africa, some of whom have been settled there for five or six generations (Kenya has 17,000, Tanganyika 27,000, and Uganda 6,000) passed a number of resolutions including one opposing further immigration to British East Africa. "The Conference... expressed its firm belief that the Ismailis had always made East Africa, the country of their adoption, their permanent home, and were loyal to the Government of their country.... the conference was of the unanimous opinion that, while being friendly with other immigrant races, it should always be the policy of the Ismailis to support and enhance the welfare and progress of the indigenous people and thereby of the territory as a whole." In political matters most of the Ismaili Khoja sect are against communal representation and in favour of common-roll elections, provided there is a property and educational qualification for the franchise. (The Times, Aug.2, 1952)

Statement by Appasaheb Pant

According to a report in the Indian Views Mr. APPASAHEB PANT, India's Commissioner in East Africa, addressing the Bombay Rotary Club, said that the colour prejudice in certain parts of Africa was growing, and that if the major Powers of the world did not co-operate now to put an end to it, it would sow the seeds of a colour war throughout the world.... The real problem in Africa was not a problem of creating wealth from the vast resources of the land, but of creating one single unified society out of the varied elements that had come there from outside." (S.A. Race Relations News, Aug. 1952)

East African Future

This is the title of a pamphlet (published by the Fabian Colonial Bureau); the unanimous report of several young East Africans of different races from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, who have been attempting to work out their problems together. Their introduction points out that "the future of East Africa is great in potential, a future full of happiness for its inhabitants and usefulness for the rest of the world. But before this potential can be realised two great struggles must be won: the struggle against nature, and the struggle against the suspicion, ignorance and fear which pervade human relationships in a multi-racial society and which make ordinary problems seem insurmountable ... Our efforts, then, have been to suggest means by which racial conflict can be overcome in several fields where it is most severe, and to make suggestions how best use can be made of the forces thus released." This group of Oxford undergraduates have produced a most valuable pamphlet which should serve as a basis for further constructive thought and work.

Uganda

The UGANDA-NATIONAL CONGRESS has been formed in Kampala. Its main objects are: Unification of all tribes in Uganda; self-government in Uganda; placing the control of Uganda's economy in the hands of the people of Uganda; promotion of universal education. In its manifesto the Congress says "As citizens of the Uganda Nation we must all of us share equally in its rights and duties, its privileges and responsibilities... We are already living in a plural society, and this is a fact which must be taken as such. For a happy, harmonious society we cannot afford to create another South Africa in Uganda wherein the tyrannising race will be the African race. Uganda is essentially an African country, and it must always remain so. It follows, naturally, from this fact and its fate must, and will, be determined by the majority of the people of Uganda - the Africans. But this does not mean that the citizens of Uganda of the other races - provided they take on Uganda citizenship - will be denied their rights. They are welcome to stay, on that all-important condition, namely that they embrace Uganda citizenship. Otherwise they can only remain as temporary alien guests, subject to the laws laid down for aliens, and debarred the rights and privileges accorded to the citizens of the country.... The Congress takes a keen interest in what is going on in East Africa, but it is not prepared even to consider any schemes of Federation of East Africa until full political and civil liberties and rights have been secured by the citizens of this country..." (The organising committee are: I.K. Musasi, A.M.K. Mayanja, S. Abwongoto, J. Daka, S. Katemba, E. Olyech, J. Mangoma, E.K. Eryeru, Y. Engur, T. Bazarabusha, Z.W. Iawungesi, Kagwa Mukasa, J. Matovy, Rev. E.S. Wakidala, Lwamafa.)

The Situation in Kenya

E.W. MATHU, member of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Kenya) and MBIYU KOINANGE (Delegate in Britain of the Kenya African Union) have issued a statement on the Mau Mau (12 Sept. 1952). They state that they fear the propaganda campaign of sensational stories "is an attempt to destroy the sympathy of the British people... What is the truth? It has been claimed that there exists a secret organisation called 'Mau-Mau', allegedly supported by Kenya Africans, and especially by the Kikuyu. Up till now no convincing evidence has been produced by anybody to establish the existence of such an organisation. The Kenya African Union and All African leaders have publicly denied any knowledge of it, and they have also completely dissociated themselves publicly from any subversive movements. This was done, for example, at a recent meeting at Kiambu attended by at least 30,000 Africans. It is interesting to note that the word Mau-Mau is not known in any of the Kenya African languages. Should it be proved, however, that such an organisation does in fact exist, there is no doubt that its significance can be only minimal, and that its importance is being exaggerated we fear for political and economic reasons." They state that "the economic conditions of the Kenya Africans are continuing to deteriorate. The main factor is the shortage of land and

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the considerable overcrowding in the rural areas, which does not allow the African farmer to maintain his family adequately. In the urban areas there is again over-crowding and a shortage of housing. (In Nairobi alone there are 10,000 homeless Africans. In addition, the cost of living has risen steeply, so that a considerable proportion of the African population cannot afford to buy the elementary necessities of life. One cannot therefore be very much surprised if the incidence of crime has increased as a result of economic frustration. In spite of this, however, the peacefulness of the Africans is proved by the fact that in such 'disturbed' areas as Nyeri, it has been found necessary to have only one policeman to every 8,000 inhabitants as compared with one to every 1,000 in the most docile parts of England.

"The Africans have also been frustrated politically. The 30,000 Europeans have 14 elected representatives in the Legislative Council, whilst the 5½ million Africans have only six nominated members. The Kenya African Union has advocated constitutional change on the basis of a common roll, but its proposals have been completely ignored.....The Kenya African Union has always clearly expressed its fullest support for the co-operation of all the people inhabiting Kenya, on a basis of equality. It stands for the abolition of all discriminatory racial legislation, for the repeal of the Crown Land Ordinances, and for full political democracy, including freedom of speech, assembly and organisation, and the introduction of a common electoral roll irrespective of race and colour. It protests against the series of arrests of African leaders, against the banning of meetings of African organisations, and in general against the suppression of the democratic rights of the people.

We feel that we must issue the warning that the creation of a situation of panic is extremely dangerous and we suggest the restoration of sanity to enhance goodwill and co-operation of all peoples in Kenya for their mutual benefit."

4. WEST AFRICA

The decision of the British Government not to invite the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Dr. NKRUMAH, to the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference on economic questions has been strongly criticised in certain papers in the Gold Coast. It has been pointed out that while Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing Colony and not a sovereign Dominion, had been invited to send Sir Godfrey Huggins to the conference, the Gold Coast, which has contributed more dollars to the Commonwealth in hard currency, than any other non-self-governing Commonwealth, excepting Malaya, has been ignored. The West African Pilot, commented editorially (Aug. 13, 1952): "This non-inclusion of Dr. Nkrumah has raised doubts in many a mind about the essence of that brotherhood which binds all together as 'a commonwealth'. But political students will not forget that after the declaration of the Atlantic Charter, Professor Harold J. Laski did not fail to point out that a new terminology had cropped up about the delineation of the 'commonwealth territories'. Mr. Winston Churchill, then Prime Minister of Britain, had initiated the delineation, 'commonwealth and empire'."

5. CONFERENCE IN U.S.A.

The South African Institute of Race Relations in its News of August 1952 described the Representative Conference held in June in Ohio to discuss African affairs. There were 300 delegates from various parts of Africa, the U.S.A. and Europe: 40 Africans attended. In almost every discussion the question of race cropped up and the issue of colonialism was discussed. "Inter alia, they expressed opposition to a policy of apartheid; they stress the need for widespread literary programme and for the devolution as rapidly as possible of church authority to Africans."

South West Africa & the United Nations.

In a submission to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Rev. MICHAEL SCOTT wrote: "In the next few months this matter will come before the General Assembly of the United Nations for the seventh year in succession. The South African Government has ignored the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, has declined to recognise the jurisdiction of the United Nations and has refused to submit reports and petitions to the Ad Hoc Committee on S.W.A. which was established by the General Assembly following the advisory opinion of the Court. The South African Government passed the South West Africa Act giving representation to the white one-tenth of the population while denying any form of elected representation to the non-European nine-tenths of the population....

Britain and some other Commonwealth countries have in the past either abstained from voting, or by their voting and lobbying at the United Nations have supported the South African Government. This is having very serious effects on the prestige of Britain in the Commonwealth and in the world—especially among the people of Africa and the self-governing dominions of India, Pakistan and Ceylon... The question has clearly become a reproach to those Western powers who created the Mandate as a 'sacred trust of civilisation'. It must be recalled that this territory's history is, in itself, a chapter in the history of colonial development. It was mainly on account of the treatment which the African inhabitants of this area suffered at the hands of German rule, that the principle of international accountability was established under the League of Nations Permanent Mandate Commission. The right to petition was one which the indigenous inhabitants had acquired under the League Mandate and is one which the International Court considered should be continued....

At present, there are in S.W.A. no secondary schools or facilities for higher education and technical training. While there are Government hospitals at several places outside the Reserves, there are no organised health services within the Native Reserves. Mr. Rheinallt Jones, of the South African Institute of Race Relations, commenting on this after his visit to S.W.A. in 1951 wrote: "Welfare officers and missionaries and traders do what they can for simple ailments and the district surgeon visits once a year or half year if patients are too ill to go to the town. There was no ambulance in any of the Reserves visited by me. Headmen and other Africans as well as welfare officers plead for the establishment of at least one in-clinic in each reserve, with, if possible, accommodation for emergency cases..." (S.A. Institute of Race Relations 81A/51. 14 Nov, 51)

As regards housing, the deplorable condition of agricultural labourers has been the subject of strong criticism by the Government-appointed Native Labour Commission as well as by the Africans themselves. Describing conditions in the non-European location at Windhoek, a local Minister, the Rev. J.L.B. Taylor, wrote in the Windhoek Advertiser of 25 April, 1952:

"My work as a Minister takes me to all parts of this great territory and not a little of my time is spent in the Windhoek Location. I have been associated with Non-European affairs in large cities and in small towns, but in my experience I have never seen such utterly deplorable living conditions as those which exist in our location. To expect men, women and children to live in such filth and squalor, with no sanitation or water laid on, is not only to call forth racial hatred, but is a first step towards a degeneration in local health. We employ the Non-European for a mere pittance, keep him suppressed as much as possible, and yet we expect a spirit of mutual harmony and concord to prevail and cannot understand why there are threatened riots and strikes. Does the fault lie with our Municipality or with us? Has the lethargy and apathy so prevalent in most South West citizens warped and twisted their thinking?..."

This question of S.W.A. besides being a test of good faith for the West and for Christendom, threatens to become a stumbling block to the U.N. and to those who have maintained their faith in it as an instrument of world order."

Invitation to Chief Hosea Kutako

Chief HOSEA KUTAKO was invited by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral to give one of a series of talks that are being arranged by Christian Action in the Cathedral. It was felt that he could tell of the impact of Christianity upon his people, and that in speaking of their continued faith, and their life in South West Africa, he could describe what the Christian faith had meant to them, and what the tasks of Christianity would be in the future. The Church Times (Aug. 29, 1952) reported: "The Prime Minister of South Africa has refused permission for Chief Hosea Kutako of South West Africa, to come to England, to talk about Christianity in his own country. Chief Hosea Kutako has already had invitations from the Bishop of Chichester, the Dean of Manchester and the Norwich Diocesan Missionary Council.... Mr. Scott's letter of last month, asking Dr. Malan 'as a Christian minister' to grant permission for the Chief to visit England, has been met with a summary refusal." (Dr. Malan also refused to rescind the prohibition order on the Rev. Michael Scott's return to South Africa.)

The Oxford Mail in an editorial said (Sep. 13, 1952) "It is not our business to interfere with the absolute discretion of a sovereign Government of a Commonwealth nation to handle its internal affairs in its own way. On the other hand, we must not let the world suppose that we, as a people, are indifferent to this latest attack of the Nationalist Government of South Africa on the rights of the individual to free movement and free expression of opinion. Such silence might be interpreted as indicating acquiescence or indifference.... The fact that Britain supported South Africa in opposing the appearance of chiefs of the Hereros - Hosea Kutako's tribe - to make their complaints to the United Nations about the way they were treated, still sticks in the throats of many of our people. It is well that our Government should be reminded of this fact.... Chief Hosea referred to the invitation to speak at St. Paul's as 'a sign that we are connected together as one great family'. That was well said. The strongest link binding our family together at the present time is the universal acceptance of the idea of liberty, which runs through the whole chain of Commonwealth relations. Anything that is likely to weaken that bond does infinite damage to one of the most potent influences for peace and understanding in the world today."

Death of Chief Frederick Maharero

News was received in London on Friday, Sep. 12, of the death in South-West Africa of FREDERICK MAHARERO, Paramount Chief of the Hereros. Until his illness, he had been living in exile in Bechuanaland for 48 years, having fled there with his father and many of the tribe after their rout during the extermination policy practised by the Germans at that time.

7. SOUTH AFRICA'S MOUNTING CRISIS

Recent events in South Africa arising from the growth in the passive resistance campaign by the non-white communities, and Dr. MALAN'S defiance of the Supreme Court, have had the effect of raising the whole South African question into a major international issue. The widespread concern felt about the latest developments in South Africa are reflected in newspaper comments in the Union itself, and by newspapers in Britain, the United States and other parts of the world.

The whole problem of South Africa's racial policies is likely to be one of the more important issues before the United Nations at its next session. The Times (Sep. 13, 1952) reported that "Delegates of 12 Asian and Arab States in the United Nations decided unanimously today to call for a debate at the coming General Assembly on the 'racial policy' of the South African Government, which they reproach with 'flagrant violations of human rights involving the arrest of 4,000 people engaged in passive resistance against the segregation laws.'" The All-India Congress Committee - the policy-making body of India's ruling party, adopted resolutions condemning South African racial laws. PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT, a veteran Congressman, moving the resolution said "Racialism in its most extreme and repugnant form flourished in South Africa and crushes the great majority of the population there. It is for the conscience of the world to take heed and prevent this struggle from developing into something which might endanger world peace." (Manchester Guardian, Sep. 15, 1952)

The Economist (Aug. 16, 1952) commented "There is little doubt which section in South Africa feels that, if it has not yet got right on its side, it has right. The dispossessed have found a powerful totem; nationalism. It has turned out not to be Dr. Malan's sole patent after all."

Discussing the South African Government's appointment of a body called the High Court of Parliament in order to attempt to override the Supreme Court's decision with regard to the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Spectator (Aug. 29, 1952), under the title 'South African Whirlwind', said: "The Court was created for the express purpose of overcoming the decisions of the Supreme Court which are unpalatable to the Nationalist Party, and there can seldom in history have been a body of men so apparently unqualified to give a judicial opinion on the matter before them..."

SIR MAHARAJ SINGH (former Agent-General for India in South Africa and then Governor of Bombay) in a letter to the Manchester Guardian (Aug. 27, 1952) said: "Throughout Africa there is a growing feeling of Africa for Africans. Nothing can stop its growth. It is essential, therefore, that in all important policies ruling Powers in Africa should carry Africans with them. The Government of South Africa which temporarily may succeed in crushing the opposition of non-Europeans, cannot withstand their rising resentment for many decades. In their aspirations they have the support of all Africans, all Asiatic countries, of some, at least, of the South American Republics, of the Soviet Governments, and last but not least, of liberal European opinion in both the United States and Europe. In view of what has happened in India, Burma, Ceylon, and elsewhere, statements such as 'the educated African represents only a microscopic minority' can well be ignored. Increasingly does educated opinion influence the uneducated and illiterate. It is for this reason that, while federation in Central Africa is good in principle, it should not be introduced against the opinion of educated Africans. The best method of allaying African suspicions will be the removal of existing discrimination on racial lines."

The Race Relations News of the S.A. Institute (August 1952) quoted extracts from a letter written by Mr. OWEN TOWNLEY WILLIAMS to the Natal Daily News. "... If the Union, already partially wrecked is to be finally destroyed, let us at least fight on some point of real principle. Nothing but the very highest considerations can justify division which wreaks such destruction as may come to pass. This high moral consideration is before us: it is the question of the future relations between White and non-White, the question of a civilised approach or the attitude of 'baasskap' - the question of whether our children's future can best be assured by a policy of forceful repression now, or a policy of constructive friendship and understanding... The urgent real question now is whether the basic social technique of a 19th Century settler and pioneer group in a hostile country can successfully be applied in a settled 20th Century industrialist society. It is obvious that the answer must be, to anyone who enjoys the elements of true education.. But let us not deceive ourselves. If Natal is to take an individual stand, that stand must not be for the people of Natal now, but for a posterity, White, Yellow and Brown, that may some day live in a real Union of South Africa."

The New York Times (week of 23 Aug, 1952) said that the world is watching the 'whole proceedings' in South Africa with a 'growing sense of dread, as well as disgust'. 'In Darkest Africa' was the title of their editorial - "South Africa is on a stormy course, and all one can see ahead - if the Nationalists have their way - is shipwreck." One tried to be fair in appraising the problem of the small white minority, but there is a pretty world-wide agreement that Dr. Malan's Apartheid policy is about the worst method that could have been devised to meet the problem. A solution based on pure racialism... is false, immoral and repugnant. "The attempt is bound to fail. It can only fail in upheavals of a revolutionary and violent sort, for passive resistance is too saintly a method to apply over a long period of time, as Gandhi himself discovered. Moreover, oppression is inevitably setting up counter-forces. The Communists are naturally making the most of this."

In a statement published in the journal Southern Cross, the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the Union and Protectorates said that justice demanded that Non-Europeans be permitted to evolve gradually towards full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country; but that this evolution cannot come about without earnest endeavours on the part of the non-Europeans to 'prepare themselves for the duties connected with the rights they hope to enjoy'. (Race Relations News August 1952)

History of the African National Congress

In an article in Indian Opinion (Aug. 15 1952) JORDAN K. NGUBANE, the South African writer, states that the campaign against unjust laws was "revolutionising non-European thought". For the first time in South Africa the non-Whites had found themselves in a position where they were setting the pace of political progress in the country. In these circumstances it was hardly surprising that both Whites and non-Whites frequently asked whether the defiance campaign was not 'just a Communist stunt'. But the campaign had to be seen as one more climacteric in a trend which had its roots deep in history. The history of the Congress is traced, and its methods of sending deputations, submitting resolutions, and making personal representations to the authorities. Towards the end of the second World War these methods had given way to a change of tactics. With the election of Dr. MOROKA, (President of the Congress) the emphasis was on boycotts, the use of the strike as a political weapon, and non-collaboration with the Government authorities. The militancy of the Moroka regime made a deep impression on all the non-European groups and the strike of June 26, 1950, demonstrated that Dr. Moroka had a substantial portion of the African people behind him. Thus the way had been paved for the alliance between the Africans and the Indians - and out of this had come the campaign to defy unjust laws. Mr. Ngubane described the Congress as being composed largely of professional men, farmers and business men; men whom Communism would not normally attract. The dominant force was the Youth League, which was specifically anti-Communist in outlook. Right-wing trade unionists had also made Congress their political home, and there was a fourth group within Congress - a solid core of former members of the now defunct Communist party who were confined to the Transvaal. "Most African Congressmen take up a sensibly realistic attitude in this matter. The Africans realise that the greatest threat to peace in Africa and the survival of the dark-skinned races in South Africa is Apartheid and not Communism. As a result they bend their energies towards the destruction of apartheid, while remaining on the alert to make sure that the struggle is not diverted into channels dictated by Moscow. The resistance campaign aims at forcing the rulers to come to terms with the non-Europeans on the basis of equality and justice for all. It is not out to overthrow the present economic order. But underground Communism will remain a positive danger if the anti-Communists sit back instead of joining those who think as they do in the fight. To sit back or to be neutral is to give strength to the Communist or Malanite elbow."

8. THE PROTECTORATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (see also page 14.)

The Rescindment of the banishment order on Tshekedi Khama

"The termination last week of the banishment order on TSHEKEDI KHAMA, former Regent of the Bamangwato tribe, is seen in official circles in London as the first step towards a new policy in the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland... He will not enter Bamangwato politics and will expect to be treated as a private citizen. But there is good reason to believe that the abilities of this distinguished African leader will be used by the British Government to promote economic and social development schemes for all Bechuanaland." Observer (Sep. 7, 1952)

The B.B.C. ran a series of Broadcasts which have been re-produced in the "Listener" (July 10, July 17, July 24, July 31, Aug. 7, Aug. 19, Aug 21)

LORD HAILEY opened the series and in the course of his talk said "From the African point of view partnership must comply with two requirements. In the first place, those who are invited to become partners must be satisfied that they will from the outset have some real measure of responsibility in the direction of policy. Secondly, Africans must be assured that the terms of partnership provide that those who at the start have only a minor part in the undertaking may expect to take in time a share which will be comparable with that of those who start as major partners." He concluded: "If we seek now to influence (the African) attitude on some specific issue, constitutional or otherwise, by claiming for ourselves the position of partners, this will be of no avail to us unless they can be assured that both we and the European communities directly concerned are using that term in the specific sense which I have endeavoured to indicate."

PROFESSOR ARTHUR LEWIS described the post-war world in 1923 when paramountcy of African interests was the declared policy of H.M.G. "Thirty years later, we hear no more of paramountcy, or of trusteeship. The word is now partnership. The trustee has made himself a partner. This is a suspicious transition." Later he said "No European community in Africa contemplates a society in which whites and Africans will be found at all social levels. That some Africans may be found in some of the highest jobs they may admit for a distant future. There is no future which includes Black and white together at the bottom of the social scale, say as domestic servants, or as agricultural labourers. What partnership means if it means anything, is a society in which whites are always at the top, and not in any foreseeable future a society where whites and Africans are found at all social levels, according to ability and to fortune." He regarded "permanent white settlement and partnership" as "incompatible concepts."

COLIN WELCH put forward arguments that led him to the conclusion that if there were to be a choice between rearmament and the economic development of backward areas he would choose rearmament without hesitation. He felt "we can never outbid the Communist missionary. He is not hampered, as we are, by a vague sense of what is possible...Communism is all things to all discontented men."

COLIN LEGUM said he believed "the term 'partnership' used as a political slogan is a myth" but "even though we discard the slogan of partnership, there are other policies involving racial expression that are worth pursuing. There is emerging in Tanganyika for example a pattern of race relations that I would not have believed possible in Africa". He described successful schemes of development in various Tribal areas and said that: "With this growth of tribal development has come steady industrial development in the larger towns, and a number of almost unnoticed political reforms. Each reform has sought to associate the three races with the government of the Country. The Dar-es-Salaam municipal council, for example, has an equal number of representatives from each of the three races, as has the Tanga Township Authority. The same pattern of representation is reflected in the composition of the Immigration Control Board, the Joint Civil Service Advisory Council, and many other official bodies. One can see, then, that the path towards parity in the Legislative Council, based on inter-racial co-operation, has been pursued in other spheres over a long period, and has not emerged as a sudden inspiration or because of violent political pressure... "I believe that the main danger in Africa comes from the possibility that political development may outstrip the rate of economic and social development, as was the case, in Egypt and the Middle Eastern countries. If this were to happen we would have a whole series of Egypts and Persias on our hands throughout the colonial empire. We would then indeed need all the guns we could master to keep down the colonial peoples who at present make quite a substantial contribution towards keeping our bread buttered!"

BORIS GUSSMAN, who recently returned after having spent three years in Southern Africa, spoke as an anthropologist who had examined the living conditions of the urban African. He gave an account of the poverty, overcrowding, and frustration in the urban areas, and concluded: "In the